of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fields for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

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Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

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Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

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A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

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The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of P. 95 -- analyst]

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [848]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [162] [165] [581]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

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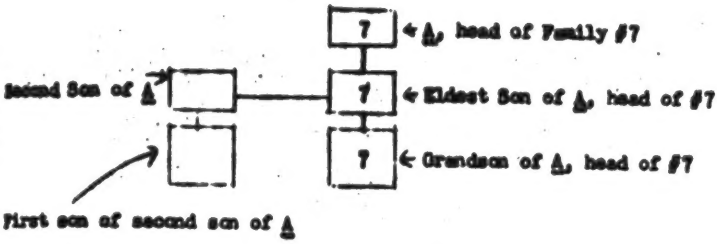
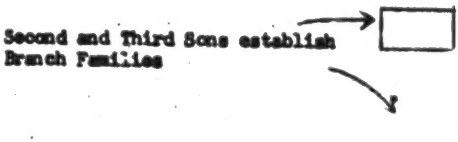
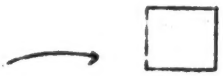




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.  [591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as [582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is ●591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the 593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life. 591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second, [423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which an [435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a [425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry [361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no [425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to [426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated 591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

593 596 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve [428] [691] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri- [464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the [591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 464 166 167 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 596 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed attitudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents' put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

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Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginosa village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

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If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

2

The Marriage Ceremony

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In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

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Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous.

[537]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which 571
are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune.

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, 596
who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who 594
establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central [166]
village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or [167]
to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere.

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is 591
an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In 582
the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent.

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the in- 592
dividual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in 593
the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are [165]
many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1).

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

[Koohinda-son]

Table XV

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Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yoshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions. [59]

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

1 The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.